THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, *Editor*

Contributing Editors

MRS. ROBERT CARLTON MORRIS ROBERT M. SMITH WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

Advisory Board

JOSEPH Q. ADAMS HARDIN CRAIG WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

VOL. XXI APRIL, 1946 NO. 2

CONTENTS

PAGE

Heine and Shakspere ..... *Walter Wadepuhl* 51

Melancholy Jaques Interviews Jan Masefield and Reports to the Shakspere Banquet ..... *Janie F. Baskin* 60

Romance in a Reference Book ..... *Claire McGlinchee* 64

On Reading John Ford ..... *John Wilcox* 66

Shakspere Crosses the Rhine ..... *Commander J. Bennett Nolan* 76

Nid Field Was Whose Scholar? ..... *William Peery* 80

Henry IV, Parts I and II, and Speght's First Edition of Geffrey Chaucer ..... *Thomas H. McNeal* 87

Notices ..... *S. A. T.* 94

Published quarterly, in January, April, July, and October, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., 601 West 113th Street, New York.

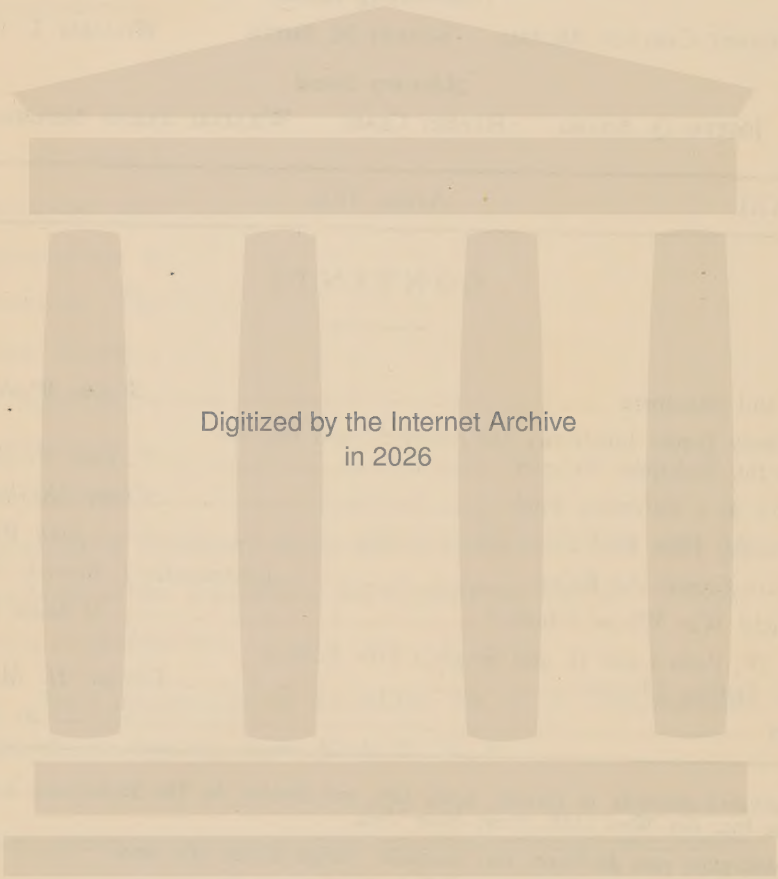
Subscription rate, $2.00 per year, postpaid. Single copies, fifty cents.

Membership in the Association includes annual subscription.

All correspondence relating to the conduct of the BULLETIN should be addressed to Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, 601 West 113th Street, New York, N. Y.

Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary

Copyright, 1943, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/shakespeare-association-bulletin_1946-04_21_2

HEINE AND SHAKSPERE

By Walter Wadepuhl

HEINRICH Heine, one of Germany's foremost lyric poets and a self-confessed failure as a dramatist, wrote in 1838 a book entitled *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen.*[1] Although not a single English critic and only a few German specialists have ever touched on the question of Heine and Shakspere, it is surprising to find this comparatively unknown work quoted in the bibliography of Neilson and Thorndike's *Facts about Shakespeare,*[2] whereas the fundamental Shakspere studies of Heine's contemporaries Grabbe, Otto Ludwig, and Hebbel are not mentioned. Undoubtedly Heine owes the inclusion of his name to his international reputation as a lyric poet; and the others, although well-known German dramatists, were excluded because they were not sufficiently familiar to the English-speaking Shakspere scholars. It is noteworthy, moreover, that in Germany the evaluation of Heine's work on Shakspere has undergone considerable changes. Adolf Strodtmann, Heine s first biographer, devotes (in 1869) only a few lines to this book and calls it a "careless piece of work," by which phrase it is still designated in 1905 in Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon.* Ernst Elster, the dean of Heine scholars, in his standard edition of Heine's works, devotes (in 1890) two pages to the genesis of this work, but refrains from giving his personal evaluation and lets a newspaper review of 1838 take his place. E. A. Schalles in a dissertation, *Heines Verhältnis zu Shakespeare,* enumerates (in 1904) for the first time Heine's frequent Shakspere quotations, refers to the Shaksperian actors whom Heine saw in Berlin and London, discusses the influence of Shakspere on Heine's youthful drama *William Ratcliff,* and comments on Heine's attitude to Shakspere and the Greek drama, and to Shakspere's originality and style; he analyzes Heine's work *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen,* its sources, the characterization of the female characters in Shakspere, Heine's corrections of Schlegel's translation, and the development of Shakspere interest in England, Germany, and France. Schalles concludes that Heine's work is artistically arranged, colloquially and well written,

and that it contains some excellent characterizations; but he also points out that the style and treatment are very uneven, that the book is replete with journalistic phrases, that the author deviates too often from his topic, that the subjective elements are too predominant, and that the long quotations from Guizot and Michelet are out of place and tedious.[5] Eduard Engel edited in 1921 a separate edition of *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen,* and for the first time since 1838 offered reproductions of the portraits. He presents a one-sided appraisal of the book, as he is intent on securing for it an honorable place in Shakspere philology; his introduction contains many inaccuracies, shows careless and superficial work, and a confused knowledge of the fundamental facts of the case.[6] Unfortunately, it is the most recent individual study of Heine and Shakspere and carries considerable weight. Finally, Max J. Wolff published in 1922 a biography of Heine.[7] Wolff is not only an excellent authority on Heine but also well-known for his two volumes on Shakspere;[8] here we have the fortunate combination of an accepted Heine and Shakspere scholar who discusses the relationship of the two poets .His evaluation of Heine's book on Shakspere, to which he devotes four pages, is entirely negative and agrees with Heine's own words that it is "no masterpiece but good enough for the purpose."

This short historical sketch exhausts the criticism of Heine's *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen.* It was at first very brief and negative, until Schalles pointed out that Heine's treatise contained many interesting observations on Shakspere. More recently and almost simultaneously, Engel in 1921 apraised Heine's book as a masterpiece in Shakspere research, and Wolff in 1922 disposed of it as a mediocre piece of work.

In the present article I shall attempt to re-evaluate Heine's utterances about the English dramatist and to furnish an obective picture of Heine's knowledge of Shakspere before 1838, of Heine's work *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen,* and of Heine's knowledge of Shakspere after 1838.

It has been asserted that Heine was well acquainted with Shakspere from his earliest youth. There is no proof for this assertion; Heine's education, on the contrary, speaks against an early knowledge of the English dramatist. Heine was born in 1797 in Düsseldorf which was then under French rule. The Lycée, which he attended from 1807 to 1814, was organized on French educational principles, and the school curriculum followed in the footsteps of the old French classical tradition. Poetry was interpreted according to the rigid laws of Boileau's *Art Poétique,* English was not taught at all and, if Shakspere was ever mentioned in the literary courses, it surely was only according to Voltaire's interpretation of the English barbarian.[10] If anything, this secondary education discouraged a study of the English dramatist; in conformity with this background, Heine never mentioned Shakspere until 1821 when he was twenty-four years old.

When, after an unsuccessful business career in Hamburg, Heine, having decided to study law, in 1819 entered the University of Bonn, he had the exceedingly good fortune to find on the faculty the great Shakspere scholar August Wilhelm Schlegel, with whom he took courses in the History of the German Language and Literature, and in Metrics, Prosody, and Declamation.[11] There is little doubt that Schlegel discussed Shakspere in these courses and that he stimulated in Heine an interest in the English dramatist. Heine's first references to Shakspere date from this time and are of a very general character. In his review of Smet's *Tassos Tod,* he speaks of the exposition, the motivated action, and the portrayal of human passions in Shakspere's dramas.[12] When Friedrich Steinmann sent Heine a drama for criticism, he replied to his friend in February 1821: "You will have produced real tragedies. But whether good ones. That is the question, says the Prince of Denmark"; in addition, he recommends for the German drama the use of the iambic pentameter which, however, should not rhyme except in highly lyrical passages, as in the conversation between Romeo and Juliet.[13] There is a pedantic trend in these discussions and, no doubt, Heine made here free use of the notes he had taken on the lectures of

Schlegel. A careful reading of all of Heine's Shakespere quotations leaves the definite impression that Schlegel had used *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* most frequently,[14] and his utterances about them show a better understanding and a deeper appreciation than of the other Shaksperian plays.

After this theoretical introduction to the aesthetic elements and to the dramatic structure of Shakspere's dramas, and after a stay of one semester in Göttingen, Heine went to Berlin to continue his legal studies at the university from February 1821 to May 1824. In Berlin he became acquainted with the interpretative aspect of Shakspere's works. He frequented the Grabbe circle where Shakspere dramas were often read in assigned rôles;[15] he saw the outstanding actors Ludwig Devrient, P. A. Wolff, Auguste Stich-Crelinger, and Sophie Müller on the stage, portraying the best known characters of Shakspere's plays;[16] and he became the welcome and regular guest at the Salon of Varnhagen von Ense, where the Goethe cult was flourishing and where also Shakspere was cultivated. Here Heine read parts of Franz Horn's *Shakespeares Schauspiele erläutert* which appeared in 1823, and discussed them with Varnhagen;[17] from now on, he frequently speaks of Goethe and Shakspere in the same breath.[18] When the German dramatist Karl Immermann asked (in 1823) for Heine's opinion of his drama *Periander,* Heine compares the dramatic method of his friend with that employed by Shakspere and praises the latter's universality, and art of motivation and concentration. In Berlin Heine attended performances of *Romeo and Juliet, The Merchant of Venice, Richard III, Henry IV,* and *Macbeth,*[19] the latter probably in Schiller's translation, and, no doubt, of *Hamlet.* The total absence of any Shakspere quotations during this period shows that Heine never read these plays but only saw them on the stage; we have only one Shakspere quotation, a parody on "A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!"[20] which had probably impressed him during a performance of *Richard III.* This passive attitude can easily be understood, if we realize that Schlegel had then translated only seventeen plays by Shakspere; they were almost inaccessible, and the popular translation

of Shakspere's works by Tieck and Schlegel did not begin to appear until 1825.

In the fall of 1824 Heine returned to Göttingen to complete his legal studies. Although he took with him from Berlin an intuitive admiration of Shakspere, his actual understanding of and appreciation for the English dramatist was still very inadequate. When Immermann asked (in 1825) for Heine's criticism of his drama *Das Auge der Liebe,* Heine was reading *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* on which Immermann's drama was based, but he offered little more than the empty words that Immermann's work did not suffer by this comparison.[21] On the occasion of Byron's death, Heine compared his relationship to Byron merely as that of a "confrère"; to Shakspere, on the other hand, he looked up in admiration "as a minister of state who could dismiss him, his councillor, at any moment."[22] Meanwhile the new translation of Shakspere's works by Tieck and Schlegel had begun to appear and, apparently stimulated by the reading of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* probably the only Shaksperian drama Heine had read since he left Bonn, we hear a few months later that Heine was occupied with the reading of Shakspere.[23] This has been interpreted to mean several of Shakspere's plays; in reality, it probably refers only to *King Lear.* Heine was particularly impressed by the character of the fool; in letters to his friends during the following months he discusses the wit of the fool and Shakspere's method of using the fool to express the most horrible things in life.[24] This seems to have exhausted Heine's occupation with Shakspere; and from 1825 to 1827 we have only a few general references to the English dramatist. Heine ridicules Tieck's claim that Lady Macbeth was by nature a charming person, and he points to Tieck with the scarcastic remark, "Every inch a fool";[25] the modern censor reminds Heine of Falstaff, as neither can be prevailed upon to account for his actions;[26] Heine humorously compares Hamlet's famous monologue with a similar passage in his own drama *Almansor*;[27] he ironically distorts Hamlet's words: "He was a man, take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again";[28] he speaks of the fool in *King Lear*,[29] and

he coins a pun on the name of "Banco,"[30] which in German is the commercial term for "cash."

From April to July 1827 Heine was in London, where he diligently attended the Drury Lane Theatre to see Shakspere's plays and where he saw the famous Kean in the rôles of Othello, Shylock, Richard III, and Macbeth.[31] This probably exhausted the actor's Shakspere repertoire during these three months, so that we can add *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* to the list of Shakspere plays that Heine had seen. He must also have attended a performance of *Twelfth Night;* although he does not refer to this play by its title, a personal and unpleasant experience in a tavern a short time later reminds him of the drunken Sir Toby.[32] It is surprising that these English performances had no immediate repercussion;[33] it is not until October 1829 that we find Heine again occupied with Shakspere, reading *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry IV*.[34] The former he studied in preparation for his famous parody in *Die Bäder von Lukka* (1829);[35] the latter he quotes frequently in the same work, but always in connection with the character of Falstaff. At this time Heine also read some of Shakspere's *Sonnets*,[36] probably in Lachmann's translation which had appeared in Berlin in 1823; he did not read them, however, for pure enjoyment, but for the purpose of finding in them some homosexual elements which Platen had suggested in his poem "Shakespeare und seine Sonette," before Heine launched his annihalating satire against this contemporary German poet. When in *Die Stadt Lukka* (1830) Heine tells of his philosophical conversation with the Lizard, he adapts Hamlet's words by stating that "There are things in heaven and earth which not only philosophers but even ordinary blockheads do not comprehend";[37] and when, in the same book, he discusses the abuses of a state religion, he paraphrases a quotation from *Henry IV* and says: "The new recruits of the state religion resemble the soldiers which Falstaff hired—they fill the churches."[38] In his radical Introduction to *Kahldorf über den Adel,* Heine compares Rousseau's task of challenging the conventional lies of court ethics with that of Hamlet, avenging the corrupt morals of the Danish court, and he exclaims: "The time is out of joint:—O cursed spite, That

ever I was born to set it right";[39] in *Französische Maler* 1831), Heine says that the character of Lessore's painting "The sick Brother" would be fitly expressed by Hamlet's words, "The modesty of nature,"[40] and in *Französische Zustände* (1832) Heine compares Mirabeau's character in Jules Janin's *L'Ane mort et la femme guillotinée* with the mongrel character of Caliban,[41] and he has two references to the evasive tactics employed by Sir John in *Henry IV*.[42]

During the early thirties Heine wrote *Elementargeister;* in this work he also discusses the treatment of the folklore elements in Shakspere's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Macbeth*. It may be doubted that Heine reread these plays, as his remarks are all very general in nature; they probably reflect Schlegel's treatment of the witches in Schiller's *Macbeth,* or were taken from some contemporary work on this subject. *Die romantische Schule* (1833) afforded Heine an opportunity to assign to Schlegel his important place in German literature as the translator of Shakspere's works, and in Tieck's dramatic satires he recognized a successful attempt to imitate Shakpere's art. A reference in Heine's critical study to the edition of *The Plays of William Shakespeare* by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens (1773) shows that he read some of the notes and commentaries, and that from them he derived his knowledge of Voltaire's view of Shakspere, and probably also learned the fundamental facts about Shakspere's life.[47] Interesting is Heine's interpretation of the duality of Hamlet's character. Just as an author whose works are subjected to censorship has to circumscribe the truth by the use of wit and satire, so Hamlet's pretexts are purely external; at heart he is an honest man, as is demonstrated by his own words: "We are arrant knaves all; believe none of us."[48] In his book *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (1834), Heine rejects the view of the Republicans of the French Revolution that social equality represents a levelling process which excludes the beautiful things of life; he retorts to their Puritan philosophy with the words of Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night*: "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?"[49] Heine's introduction to *Don Quixote* (1837) conforms to the old

and conventional Romantic conception of enumerating Cervantes, Shakspere, and Goethe as the great literary triumvirate of the epic, dramatic, and lyric arts.[50] Heine recognizes a great similarity between Cervantes and Shakspere; their works are the products of the periods of King Philip and Queen Elizabeth respectively, and differ from those of their contemporaries only by their greater depth, fervor, subtlety, and vigor, and by the fact that they are more profoundly imbued with the ethereal spirit of poetry. Both poets represent not only the culmination of art in their own times, but also lay the foundations of modern literature. Shakspere's plays have exerted an enormous influence in England, Germany and France, and have become the basis of a new dramatic art.[51] Finally, Heine's work *Ueber die französische Bühne* (1837) comments on the influence of Shakspere upon the contemporary French romanticists, particularly upon Alexandre Dumas;[52] in this book Heine also contrasts the differences of the dramatic interpretation of Kean in England and Lemaître in France,[53] and he characterizes the dramatic art of the Shaksperian actors Boccage in Paris[54] and Devrient in Berlin.[55] The ideas here expressed, however, are probably not Heine's own but those of his friend J. H. Detmold, as is indicated by passages in their unpublished correspondence.[56]

If we sum up what Heine actually knew about Shakspere in 1838, we can safely state the following: during his youth Heine was not familiar with Shakspere; he was introduced to the art and technique of the English dramatist in Bonn through Schlegel, who probably analyzed *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* in the classroom. Heine attended the first performances of Shakspere's plays in Berlin, and later he also saw the great Shaksperian actor Kean in London. We know that he read *Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet, A Midsummer Night's Dream, King Lear, Henry IV,* and a few of the *Sonnets,* and that he attended per formances of *Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, The Merchant of Venice, Richard III, Henry IV, Macbeth, Othello* and *Twelfth Night.* These ten plays constitute Heine's acquaintance with Shakspere's works, and to them he confines his remarks about the English dramatist; we have no

proof that Heine was acquainted with any of the remaining twenty-seven plays by Shakspere. Heine's early utterances about Shakspere are dogmatic and reflect the teachings of Schlegel, and his numerous quotations from Shakspere, which he repeats again and again, are, with the exception of *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet,* mostly superficial and commonplace, and frequently appear in a distorted form to suit Heine's purposes. Heine's discussions of Shakspere's dramatic art are either by comparison or by analogy; Shakspere is employed as a standard by which Heine judges the dramatic productions of his friends, or Shakspere's art is extolled together with the outstanding works of such poets as Goethe or Cervantes. The commentaries on Shakspere that Heine knew were several chapters of Franz Horn's *Shakespeares Schauspiele erläutert,* the main treatises on Shakspere by Tieck and Schlegel, and the edition of *The Plays of Shakespeare* by Johnson and Steevens. This was Heine's background when he wrote *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen.*

Heine's book *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* was written at the request of the French publisher Delloye, who wanted to make use of a collection of copper plates of the female characters of Shakspere which had already appeared in England and also in two editions for the French public. He now planned to publish a German edition, for which he wished to secure an introductory and explanatory text from a famous German author. He wavered in his choice between Tieck and Heine, when the latter, who was then pressed for money, accepted his liberal offer of a maximum of 4000 francs.

[*To be continued*]

MELANCHOLY JAQUES INTERVIEWS JAN MASEFIELD AND REPORTS TO THE SHAKSPERE BANQUET

April 23, 1935

By Janie F. Baskin

A poet, a poet, I met a poet in the world,
A dreaming poet in an enchanted land.
As I do live by song and sentiment, I met a poet!
Jan Masefield, so I heard one call him then —
But to my tale! I had not wandered far,
I think 'twas on the outskirts of our wood,
I glimpsed a garden with a magic lure,
A garden bright with April's panoply.

I strayed within, for something drew me on,
And there I found him at his poet's lodge
Within the shadow of a hedge of gorse
Whose prickles shut him out from ruder gaze.

It needed not words to tell me who he was,
This poet dreaming dreams of other worlds.
His eyes were blue, a deep, deep shining blue,
But wistful, haunting, as if his soul thru them
Quested the elusive presence of his dreams.
Apparently he saw me not, and yet,
As if in answer to my unspoken thought,
He spoke aloud, a poet's yearning cry:

"Beauty, you lifted up my sleeping eyes,
And filled my heart with longing with a look;
And all the day I searched but could not find
The beautiful dark-eyed who touched me there.
Delight in her made trouble in my mind,
She was within all Nature, everywhere,
The breath I breathed, the brook, the flower, the grass,
Were her, her word, her beauty, all she was."

"If I could come again to that dear place
Where once I came, where Beauty lived and moved,
Where, by the sea, I saw her face to face,—"

The sea!
Some magic in the utterance of the word
Transfigured his mild countenance, when I
Unthinking broke the spell, and asked aloud,
"You love the sea?" "I worship her," he said,
Simply, unheeding my rude presence there.
It scarcely needed question on my part.
"I went to sea as a boy." He spoke half musingly,
"I know the varying moods of wind and waves,
And ships — Ah, how I love them,

"Riding the sea, making the waves give place,
In delicate high beauty —"

His face was all aglow with pictured thought,
And as he spoke, his voice broke yearningly
Into the lilt of a remembered song:

"I must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea
and the sky,
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by,
And the wheel's kick and the wind's song and the white
sail's shaking,
And a grey mist on the sea's face and a grey dawn
breaking.

"I must go down to the seas again, for the call of the
running tide
Is a wild call and a clear call that may not be denied;
And all I ask is a windy day with the white clouds
flying,
And the flung spray and the blown spume, and the sea-
gulls flying."

His voice sank into silence, but his eyes
Still shone with the keen spirit of desire,
When blundering, I questioned him again,
"How like you London town?" There was a pause,
The light died out, a shadow crossed his face,

"Wretchedly fare the most there, and merrily fare the
few."

"London has been my prison, but my books,
Ships and deep friendships,"
"These are all my joys—"
Again his face was bright. "Who are your friends?"
I asked in turn, seeking to draw him on.
"Know you not," then he answered in mild surprise,
"That the friends whom chiefly I sing are the humble of
of earth,
"The men of the tattered battalion which fights till it
dies?"
As he spoke I thought of mine own musings
Over a wounded deer in Arden by a brook.
"Here," I said, "is a fellow after my heart,"
But perversely I hummed the refrain,
"Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou are not so unkind
As man's ingratitude.
Heigh-ho! sing heigh-ho! unto the green holly;
Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly!"
And he was quick to take me up in answer,
"The West Wind's mine!"
Then he was off again in lilting song:

"It's a warm wind, the west wind, full of birds' cries;
I never hear the west wind but tears are in my eyes.
For it comes from the west lands, the old brown hills,
And April's in the west wind, and daffodils.' '

"Ah, friend," quoth I, "you love your England well,
And sing of her with a melodious joy.
Small wonder that they crowned you with the crown
Of laureate poet, as inheritor
Of that bright wreath which first decked Chaucer's brow
And passed in turn to Spenser and sturdy Ben—"
But here a peevish thought escaped my brain
And found an utterance thru my unruly tongue—
"Yet strange it was that they should so have slighted
In that bright age, the Master of them all,
My Master, Shakspere, leaving him thus uncrowned."

Jan Masefield looked at me in swift return,

And all his face was shining with the glow
Of ardent worship of the Master's name:

"Ah, he is Beauty and Light and Poetry!
He is unique, the one, the unrivalled Star!
Why should they seek his glory to confine
Within the limits of an island fame
By crowning him as voice of England only?
Shakspere, the singer of the heart of man,
Is laureate poet of the listening world!"

I slipped away rebuked, left him in ecstasy,
And came to bring his tribute to you here.
724 *Baltimore Ave.,*
San Antonio, Texas

ROMANCE IN A REFERENCE BOOK

By Claire McGlinchee

SHAKSPERE wrote with a golden pen that was put into his hand by the gods, and it was with a gift of golden pens that the American "Enthusiast" first expressed to Mary Cowden Clarke his admiration for her great achievement in preparing the *Shakespeare Concordance.*

Not often does a girl of sixteen undertake a task so stupendous as did Mary Clarke after wandering in the garden of Charles and Mary Lamb while on a visit to their home. The work was to take sixteen years of her life. The last line of it was completed on her mother's birthday, August 17th, 1841.

The "Enthusiast," a Mr. Robert Balmanno, of Brooklyn, New York, wrote to Douglas Jerrold, the playwright, to ask him to secure one of the slips used in preparing the Concordance. In this appeal, Mr. Balmanno jokingly added that he would send two ounces of California gold in payment. The gold was sent in the form of pens. Mrs. Clarke describes them as follows, in one of her *Letters to an Enthusiast*: the letter of acknowledgment:

> An elegantly ornamented card box, containing a smaller one of crimson velvet, in which were six gold pens; a holder of ivory and silver; another of tortoise-shell and silver; the whole enveloped in a mat of dove-coloured cloth and rose-coloured satin. Really, the enumeration of all these elegancies is like a sentence from the Arabian Nights describing a gift presented by some prince to a princess, at least; while the distance they have travelled seems to endue them with as wondrous properties as any of the marvels therein mentioned, a steam voyage across the Atlantic between January 2nd and February 7th seeming almost as miraculous as a trip on the magic square of carpet or a flight in Aladdin's Palace. Accept my warm thanks for bestowing such a beautiful gift upon myself, while your kindness is enhanced by having enabled me to share it with my husband, who desires me to add his acknowledgments to mine. He has selected the tortoise-shell pen, while I have the ivory one.[1]

After this initial gift, the "Enthusiast' got a number of American admirers of Mrs. Clarke to send her a large,

rosewood armchair with an adjustable bookstand attached to one arm. In the group were such illustrious persons as Daniel Webster, William Cullen Bryant, Richard Grant White, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charlotte Cushman, and S. Austin Allibone. Thus began a correspondence of eleven years' duration. Much of Mrs. Clarke's side of this interesting correspondence has been preserved for us in Anne Upton Nettleton's ably edited volume already mentioned. Many of the letters were sealed with the author's Shakspere ring,—a profile seal given to her by her brother to celebrate the completion of the *Concordance*.

The following note from Douglas Jerrold shows his interest in her great achievement:

> December 5th, West Lodge, Putney Common.
>
> My dear Mrs. Clarke,—I congratulate you and the world on the completion of your monumental work. May it make for you a huge bed of mixed laurels and bank-notes.
>
> On your first arrival in Paradise you must expect a kiss from Shakespeare,—even though your husband should *happen* to be there.
>
> That you and he, however, may long make for yourselves a Paradise here, is the sincere wish of — Yours truly,
>
> Douglas Jerrold.[2]

Thus, Mary Cowden Clarke, the industrious compiler of one of the important Shaksperian reference books, made and kept a host of delightful friends among the illustrious writers and musicians of her day and among them those who, like the American "Enthusiast," live now for their interest in her.

Douglas Jerrold's wish of "a Paradise here" for the Clarkes was richly granted, for there is not lovelier romance in the annals of English letters than that of Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke.

Hunter College, New York

---

[1]Mary Cowden Clarke, *Letters To an Enthusiast,* edited by Anne Upton Nettleton. Chicago, A. C. McClung & Co., 1902. page 15.

[2]Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, *Recollection of Writers.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. n.d. page 287.

ON READING JOHN FORD

By John Wilcox

THE chief plays of John Ford have fascinated critics and scholars since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, inspiring reactions almost unmatched in violence and variety. Readers of today, however, are inclined to take him in stride and wonder what all the excitement was about. M. Joan Sargeaunt in her "life-and-works" study of Ford implies that the tendency to disparage him for his dubious morality reached its lowest point in the "puritanical upbraidings of the American critics of the first decade of the present century."[1] Without wasting any thought on nationalistic pride, which ought to be beneath contempt in a scholarly discussion, this paper endeavors to retrace briefly the attitudes of Ford's British readers throughout the Victorian era and to show how docile the Americans of this century were in accepting the verdicts of their "betters." For, after all, the reaction of British critics to Ford is just one more aspect of the attitude that made *shocking* a priceless loan-word into the language of the supercilious continentals.

Let us first glance at Ford himself. His early writings show us a youth familiar with the amatory dogmas that cling to the phrases, courtly love, sonnet conventions, arcadian romance, platonic love. Before D'Urfée wrote *Astrée* and before the Parisian Hôtel de Rambouillet made *preciosité* a fashionable name for a complicated fad, Ford had openly espoused the heterodox causes for which these terms are symbols. Twenty years later, when the court of Charles and Henrietta was interesting itself in novel love doctrines, Ford was writing plays. Into three of them he poured the results of his brooding on the conflicts between romantic love and established law, a brooding peculiar in its sympathy for the lovers and yet, strictly speaking, devoid of any clear attempt to propagandize against law.

Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* had just appeared and Ford devoured this work avidly. Its psychology became Ford's psychology, and its gloomy view of the

human scene blended with a romantic fatalism to give Ford an essential pessimism about the helpless suffering of hapless lovers.[2] Ford contemplates his characters with pity, never once calling on Reform or Hope, unless the labored Burtonian cure of *The Lover's Melancholy* may be called hopeful.

Three times Ford wrote tragedies about star-crossed lovers, but their inauspicious stars are not those casual circumstances that drive Romeo to Mantua. Ford's great lovers collide fatefully with accepted codes of married love. They all meet their doom with vigorous assertions of the purity, the sanctity, the inevitableness of their emotions. They are like Tess of the D'Urbervilles, pure and faithfully presented; but unlike Tess they are vocal about their own purity,—all this two hundred fifty years before Hardy.

Briefly let us refresh our memories of these three plays. In *'Tis Pity She's a Whore,* Giovanni and Annabella, son and daughter of a substantial citizen of Parma, have an irresistible, incestuous attraction for each other. They defend their own amorous rhapsodies with eloquent references to purity and sacredness. When, after nine mad, ecstatic months, the vengeance of Annabella's husband impends, Giovanni lovingly stabs his sister-mistress saying,

> Since we must part,
> Go thou, white in thy soul, to fill a throne
> Of innocence and sanctity in Heaven.[3]

Then he kills her husband and himself falls in the ensuing brawl with banditti. These events occur against a background of Renaissance Italian intrigue and bloody violence, but only the incestuous lovers are heterodox in sexual morals, and the play closes with a cardinal saying,

> but never yet
> Incest and murder have so strangely met.
> Of one so young, so rich in nature's store,
> Who could not say, 'TIS PITY SHE'S A WHORE?[4]

Compared to *'Tis Pity, The Broken Heart* is conventional. Penthea, however, has been given in marriage to Bassanes by her brother Ithocles, although the latter is

fully aware that she and Orgilus are plighted lovers. The legally correct marriage is made more repulsive by the insane jealousy of the husband Bassanes. Unlike Annabella, Penthea will not violate her honor and her legal obligation, although she feels that her marriage is a defiling rape. "The virgin-dowry which my birth bestowed," said she to Orgilus at one of their two interviews after the marriage, "is ravished by another."[5] She tells her brother that she is "a faith-breaker," and explains that

> she that's wife to Orgilus, and lives
> In known adultery with Bassanes
> Is at the best a whore.[6]

Thus Ford bases a tragedy on obedience to the legal system that brings complete destruction to its victims.

In *Love's Sacrifice* a different issue arises. Bianca has been glad to better herself by marriage to the elderly Duke of Pavia. She has resisted casual assaults upon her virtue to which her youthful beauty has subjected her, but she finally falls madly in love with Fernando, the Duke's handsome young favorite. Although they declare their mutual passion, they renounce its consummation in one of the most striking scenes of dramatic literature. They pay their duties to the Duke by restraining themselves from the actual sexual embrace, no matter how vocally they yearn. Up to the bloody end they talk much of Bianca's chastity, innocence, and freedom from lust. After their destruction, the Duke stabs himself, he says, "in revenge of wrongs to her."[7]

With these brief reminders of the moral heresies in the love doctrine of John Ford, we pass on to the reactions of the readers of the plays. I say "readers" advisedly, for with trifling exceptions, he has not been staged since 1700.[8]

No one was much interested in Ford before Lamb. Langbaine had listed his plays in 1691, remarking that Annabella's incestuous love is "painted in too beautiful colors" and noting Burton's influence on *The Lover's Melancholy*.[9] In 1800, Charles Dibdin had read *'Tis Pity* in Dodsley;[10] he reinforced Langbaine's remark with the specific dictum that "it is not the province of a dramatic

writer to seek for monsters or to record prodigies; it is his duty to reproduce such vices as are commonly known."[11] Then in 1808 Lamb initiated the modern consideration of Ford. In his famous *Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets,* he quoted a few pages from Ford's major plays and commented on their power with great discrimination, despite the brevity of his notes, most of which are reprinted on one page in The Mermaid Edition of Ford. From these often-quoted lines it will suffice here to recall such phrases as these:

> "He [*i. e.,* Ford] sought for sublimity . . . where she has full residence in the heart of man; in the actions and sufferings of the greatest minds. There is grandeur of the soul above the mountains, seas, and elements . . . [Ford] discovers something of a right line even in obliquity, and an improbable greatness in the lowest dissidents and degradations of our nature."[12]

Following Lamb's liberal praise, John Ford began to be read, and widely, if the activities of the publishers constitute a measure.[13] Seven collected editions in little more than eighty years constitute powerful testimony of the capacity of English and American readers of the Nineteenth Century to devour privately what they deplored officially and publicly, a conflict of attraction and repulsion that a pre-Freudian critic was hardly prepared to deal with.

Ten years after Lamb, William Hazlitt expressed regret that he could not write of Ford *con amore* and then assailed the opinions of Lamb with emphasis and vigor. He declares that the repulsiveness of the story of *'Tis Pity* is the source of its interest and feels that Ford is "tampering with unfair subjects" as Shakspere would never do. Ford's chief power is that of "playing with edged tools, and knowing the use of poisoned weapons." The close to *The Broken Heart* is analyzed into sheer affectation, and Lamb's praise is specifically laid aside.[14]

In the opposition of these two judgments the poles of critical reaction are established for a century to come. Lamb, it may now be seen, finds in Ford genuine literary virtues, the ability to invest an imaginary scene with creative vigor, to match the strangest emotional situations with

the strongest and most appropriate expression. Lamb is far ahead of his time in aesthetic single-mindedness. Unable to brush aside the issue of morals, Hazlitt aligns himself with Dibdin in demanding a safe content. A Freudian might say that he felt a compulsion to hide his distrust of the moral code under positive reaffirmations of its inviolability. Admitted sinners are normal and acceptable; they do not question the standard by which they are adjudged sinners. There can be no examination of the conventional premises for such critics.

In the introduction and notes to his edition, William Gifford joined Hazlitt's party and helped establish the official Victorian view. Few opportunities to censure Ford escape Gifford's moral sense. Readers of three successive printings are told how to interpret Ford in such remarks as "the poetry is in truth too seductive for the subject, and flings a soft and soothing light over what in its natural state would glare with salutary and repulsive horror."[15] Hartley Coleridge declares *'Tis Pity* and *Love's Sacrifice* "horrible stories," and insists that Ford

> "... delighted in the sensation of intellectual power, he found himself strong in the imagination of crime and agony; his moral sense was gratified by indignation at the dark possibilities of sin, by compassion for rare extremes of suffering ... His genius was a telescope, ill-adapted for neighboring objects, but powerful enough to bring within the sphere of vision what nature has wisely placed at an unsociable distance."[16]

In one form or another this became the official Victorian view.

No important voice was raised in England to second Lamb's position until 1871 when Swinburne wrote an extended article in the *Fortnightly Review* praising Ford wholeheartedly. In a very characteristic fashion, which can be only poorly represented here, Swinburne maintained that Ford's name is "one of the loftiest landmarks of English poetry."[17] Boldly seizing the nettle of the moral test, he remarks of *'Tis Pity,* which he deems the author's very best play, "It is somewhat unfortunate that the very title of Ford's masterpiece should sound so strangely in the ears of a generation 'whose ears are the chastest part about them'."[18] In assaying Ford for his peculiar genius, Swinburne observes that

> "In Ford's best work we are usually conscious of a studious arrangement of emotion and expression, a steady inductive process of feeling as of thought, answering to the orderly measure of the verse."[19]

To this one needs to join his earlier remark,

> "For nothing is more noticeable in this poet than the passionless reason and equable tone of style with which in his greatest works he treats of the deepest and most fiery passions, the quiet eye with which he searches out the darkest issues of emotion, the quiet hand with which he notes them down."

Swinburne makes his renunciation of "puritan upbraidings" explicit when he turns with a moral bias of his own, from praise of *'Tis Pity* and the *Broken Heart* to an examination of the basic situation of *Love's Sacrifice,* which he declares "utterly indecent, unseemly and unfit for handling." Revolting from the whole conception which he says is "essentially foul because it is essentially false," he declares, "The incestuous indulgence of Giovanni and Annabella is not improper for tragic treatment; the obscene abstinence of Fernando and Bianca is wholly improper."[20] In this Swinburne is one with Gifford, who had observed of Bianca, that "she is, in fact, a gross and profligate adulteress, and her ridiculous reservations, while they mark her lubricity, only enhance her shame."[21]

Tainted as he was with every kind of suspicion from the "rightminded" Victorians, Swinburne's support did not visibly improve Ford's reputation during the next forty years. The position of moral revulsion received solid, scholarly expression in the chief literary history of the day. In his monumental description of English drama,[22] A. W. Ward was hardly puritanical in his taste, judging by the standards of his day, but he did not hesitate to apply the moral test and to support the conventional code. He evades describing the action of *'Tis Pity;* in declaring that the author's sole motive was to produce a strong sensation, he does not mention that the subject is incest. "The deadly impression this tragedy seeks to leave is that the force of passion is irresistible; but the mind revolts against the fatalism which . . . the sum-total of the action implies." Ward speaks of *Love's Sacrifice* as a "fascinating but dangerous play." But he concedes a possibility of "psycholog-

ical truth in this harrowing picture." "The dramatist has ventured," he asserts, "to balance the question of her guilt or innocence upon a line unknown to moral law."[23]

In summing up his view of Ford in 1875, Ward says,

> "The strength of Ford lies in the intensity with which his imagination enables him to reproduce situations of the most harrowing kind, and to reveal by sudden touches the depths of passion, sorrow, and despair which may lie hidden in a human heart. That he at times creates these effects by conceptions unutterably shocking to our sense of the authority of fundamental moral laws, rather betrays an inherent weakness in his inventive power than adds to our admiration of it . . . There is none of our dramatists who has so powerfully contributed to unsettle the true conceptions of the basis of tragedy . . . The dramatic power of Ford is therefore incomplete in its total effect . . . It excites; it perturbs; it astonishes; it entrances; but it fails to purify, and by purifying to elevate and strengthen. Let those who may esteem these cavils pedantic . . ."[24]

A dozen years after Ward, George Saintsbury devoted a substantial amount of space to Ford.[25] Though he qualified the term, he seems to have been the first to attach the word *decadent* to the author, using the term in discussing the form of blank verse prevalent in Ford's day.[26] While he did not completely deny Ford dramatic or poetic merit, he was cautious in his praise, and the general effect on readers of the time was almost certainly on the side, substantially, of disapproval.

While Saintsbury was writing this history, Havelock Ellis (later to become notorious and eventually famous for his advanced position on the subject of love and the need of candor in the study of sex) edited Ford's principal plays. Ellis describes Ford as a poet in picturing the "burden of a passionate and heavy heart." Ellis does not feel Swinburne's revulsion at *Love's Sacrifice,* for he finds that into this play

> "Ford has put his subtlest work, marred though it is by the feeble and foolish sentiment of the conclusion. The story of the youth who falls in love with his friend's wife, and when he has aroused in her stronger nature a passion far deeper than his own, shrinks back realising his falsehood, is true to nature and wrought with Ford's finest art and insight."[27]

In the revision of his work at the end of the century, A. W. Ward becomes more explicit in his condemnation. In his opening statement he seems to have diverted Saintsbury's idea of decadence into a dramatic influence and makes the contradictory assertion that Ford "manifestly influenced" the progress of later Elizabethan drama while helping to hasten its decay. He rewrites his ideas on Ford to an extent that is unusual in the edition, adding a long note defending his position on *'Tis Pity,* which he now openly admits deals with incest.[28]

Despite Lamb, Swinburne, and Ellis, it had become standard opinion by the end of the century to praise Ford for his poetic power and condemn him for his moral obliquity, to find, as Ward puts it, "In his nature, finely endowed as it was, there must have been something unsound." Saintsbury's epithet *decadent* was handy, and it soon was used to describe Ford's morals, his philosophy of life, his dramatic structure, and even his total inadequacy in comic bits. Critics talked of shock, of fatalism, of immutable moral law, of love casuistry, of moral anarchy, of repulsive horrors, and of mentioning the unmentionable. At the same time some sort of concession was equally standard. "The suppressed horror . . . lights up the hollows of the human spirit," wrote Sir Edmund Gosse, "in a way that is matchless for subtlety and intensity."[29]

Now it happened that several important American scholars had occasion to express themselves about Ford in the first decade of this century, as Miss Sargeaunt alluded to. They did not invent the "puritanical upbraidings" with which their discussions are filled; they merely vied with each other in ringing in permutations and combinations of the familiar and unexceptionable ideas. Felix Schelling, Ashley Thorndike, William Allan Neilson, and Stuart P. Sherman all missed the golden opportunity to refute the dicta of their British colleagues, Ward, Gosse, and Saintsbury, and stuck to a safe straddling of the issues.

This safety of playing both sides is fully exemplified in the writings of Stuart P. Sherman, easily the most sensitive scholar to focus for long on Ford, sensitive at once to aesthetic values and to Victorian moral sensibilities as he heard them restated by Irving Babbitt. Ford was a de-

cadent; Ford made a serious application of romantic ideals to real life; Ford had a fatalistic attitude toward passion; Ford was in romantic revolt against the conventions of society. "The shock of the ideal and the real gave him dramatic life . . . and carried him inevitably into the creation of the problem play as the expression of his views of life."[30]

Americans are not alone in this. Emile Legouis has re-expressed the consensus in his turn. Of course, it is easy now, in a different literary climate, to find fault with earlier workers because they did not dare to see or did not dare to say what they saw unless it fitted into the accepted scheme of social conventions and moral values. Miss Sargeaunt's book, easily the best work yet to appear on Ford, calmly and properly ignores the traditional clichés, except when she reviews the history of his reputation.[31]

In conclusion, I might mark, more or less to one side, that if this essay were a prolegomena it would stress several issues yet to be straightened in the minds of men. First, what do men mean by saying Ford was a decadent? Saintsbury found him decadent in poetic power; Sherman says he was decadent because of "his sickening exclusive absorption in the relation of the sexes." Yet this very interest Havelock Ellis used as evidence of Ford's modernness, which M. Joan Sargeaunt quoted with approval and George Sensabaugh then wrote a book to demonstrate. Ford's bibliographer, Dr. Samuel Tannenbaum, calls Ford "one of the most potent factors in the decay of that [*i. e.* Caroline] drama." Yet Alfred Harbaugh says that Ford and Shirley "were not immediately influential." Has the term *decadent* outlived its usefulness in reference to Ford? Second, romantic and unrealistic though he doubtless was, Ford has a place near Milton as a Seventeenth Century defender of human freedom in domestic life. The legal atmosphere in which Ford's plays grew is the atmosphere of Milton's divorce tracts. Can their relationship be shown? And third, Ford has a place in a long history of ideas about love, a history that extends from Plato, Andreas Capellanus, and Robert Burton to William Godwin, Havelock Ellis, and Sigmund Freud. Perhaps it can be clarified.

But, in last analysis, Ford's plays will live, as all literature must live, not for their intellectual content, not for their voicing of human feeling, not for their vivid expression, but for their living, breathing combination of all three. That, after all, is about what all literary art exists for.

Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.

[1]*John Ford* (1935), p. 184.

[2]The old straw of Burtonian influence has been diligently reflailed by G. F. Sensabaugh and S. Blaine Ewing during the last dozen years.

[3]*The Best Plays of John Ford,* ed. by Havelock Ellis (1887), p. 175.

[4]*Ibid.,* p. 181.

[5]*Ibid.,* p. 220.

[6]*Ibid.,* p. 228.

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 373.

[8]See Sargeaunt, *op. cit.,* pp. 167-175, for stage history.

[9]*An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691), p. 21.

[10]Before the appearance of Weber's edition, *The Dramatic Works of John Ford,* (London: 1811), Ford's plays were not accessible to the average person. The original quartos dated mostly in the sixteen-thirties, were not given a second printing in that century. In 1714 a political situation brought the reprinting of *Perkin Warbeck.* Robert Dodsley printed only *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* in his *Select Collection of Old English Plays* (London: 1780).

[11]Charles Dibdin, *A Complete History of the Stage* (1800), III, 279.

[12]*Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets* (1957), II, 29.

[13]Weber's edition of 1811 was followed in 1827 by Gifford's. In 1831 there was an American issue of Weber. In 1840 Hartley Coleridge issued a one-volume, fine-reprint Ford combined with Massinger. A German translation appeared in 1860. In 1869 Dyce reedited Gifford's version, which received a third issue under A. H. Bullen in 1895. Meanwhile Havelock Ellis offered the five best plays in the still conventiently accessible volume in the Mermaid Series. In fact the supply was so copious that (aside from anthologies of the drama, Bang's scholarly texts at Louvain, and Stuart P. Sherman's two plays printed for classroom use) surviving copies of Nineteenth Century editions have met the needs of readers for the last half-century.

[14]*Lectures on the Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (1870), pp. 131-143.

[15]Introduction in the Dyce-Gifford, p. xxxi.

[16]*The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford* (1839), p. lviii.

[17]"John Ford," *The Fortnightly Review,* July 1871, pp. 42-63. This essay reappeared in *Essays and Reviews,* 1875. It is found in the Bonchurch Edition, XII, 371-406; citations are to this edition.

[18]*Ibid.,* XII, 373.

[19]*Ibid.,* XII, 374.

[20]*Ibid.,* XII, 382.

[21]Gifford-Dyce, *Works of John Ford,* I, xxxi.

[22]*English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne.*

[23]*Ibid.,* II, 298-302.

[24]*Ibid.,* II, 307-08.

[25]*A History of Elizabethan Literature* (1887), pp. 402-09.

[26]*Ibid.,* p. 391 and pp. 394-5.

[27]*The Best Plays of John Ford* (1887), p. xii.

[28]*English Dramatic Literature* (rev. ed., 1899), III, 71-89.

[29]Written 1903 for *Chambers Cyclopaedia of English Literature.*

[30]See Sherman's introduction to *John Fordes Dramatische Werke,* ed. by W. Bang (*Materialien zur Kunde des Aelteren Englischen Dramas,* Louvain, 1908), Vol. VVII.

[31]This is no place to discuss the work of S. Blaine Ewing and G. A. Sensabaugh.

SHAKSPERE CROSSES THE RHINE

By Commander J. Bennett Nolan

ALREADY my sojourn in Germany fades into the realm of fantasy: The piles of rubble on the sites of cities which I had known so well in happier days, our shivering jeep rides over the shattered autobahns, (it seems always to have been cold and rainy in those first fateful weeks of occupation), the countless groups of woe-begone refugees—all these form a pattern of composite desolation. And yet the retrospect is not entirely calamitous. Rising out from the general scheme of misery are certain points of cheer and human interest—the shock-haired children who begged our "K" rations, the yellow gorse flaming in a landscape which even the ravages of pitiless war could not entirely alter, the delicate vernal foliage in the vineyards by the Neckar.

Of these more blitheful recollections the most salient is that of the evening in the half-ruined Garrison Theatre at Hamburg when the great Laurence Olivier and his historic Old Vic Company came to entertain the British Occupation Army with his incomparable rendition of *Richard III*.

I thought that summer evening as I walked along the Alster that I had never seen the old Hanseatic town more beautiful. The sky-line, to be sure, was broken and tortured but the destruction here in the business district was not so great as by the docks. Some of the larger hotels are almost intact and are used for Military Administration. A group of kilted Scottish officers filed out from the building which had formerly housed that world renowned hostelry the Atlantische Hof. I noted over the door the name of the former proprietor, the great hotelier Pfordte, the genial hunch-back who was wont to lose at the race-track all the profits he made at his hotel. He is long dead and I wondered that evening how many of the athletic young lieutenants who passed under the sign had ever heard of Pfordte or his race horses.

Usually at this hour in the long July twilight the Alster had been filled with canoes and sailboats. Now these were banned for the civil populace; the disconsolate fräuleins, whose swains were behind barbed wire in the prison camp, sat gloomily watching two adventurous sergeants evidently making their first essay in the art of navigation.

It was not difficult to find the Garrison Theatre. It had been miraculously spared and stood up defiantly amidst the ruin of the surrounding buildings. Before its door was a queue of officers from every branch of the service, engineers and sappers, Coldstream Guardsmen, and the King's Royal Rifles, even some sailors from the mine-sweepers in the Elbe. The great Platz before the theatre was jammed with army vehicles, jeeps, weapons carriers and trucks. Some groups had motored from Hanover, one hundred and fifty kilometers away, to attend the performance.

Those of us who had been far-sighted enough to procure blue tickets passed into the auditorium. The less prudent sweated in the queue and waited for the melee which would ensue when the doors opened for general admission. As I entered I noted that the proscenium boxes were decorated with the Union Jack and already occupied. To the right sat a Brigadier and his staff. In the left box was an Admiral whom I had last seen at League Island Navy Yard—the one American officer besides myself to be observed in the crowded house.

A ludicrous effect is produced in these occupation audiences by the inevitable rifle-barrels protruding up back of all the seats. A severe penalty is meted out to anyone of the armed services who goes about in hostile territory without arms. The pistols of the officers are unwieldly enough but the rifles of infantry-men are simply impossible. These lean heavily up against your elbow and occasionally poke you between the shoulder blades conjuring up apprehensions as to what might happen if the safety clasps were not securely set.

Although the play was being rendered in conquered Germany, it had the settings of Picadilly. Perhaps this

would have been true had the performance been given in Bombay or Capetown. We tipped the ushers for our diminutive programs. We went out for refreshments or drank the tea which was passed along the aisles at the intermissions. The chatter about me was all attuned to a British pattern, the season in Scotland, the chance of the favorite at Goodwood, the approaching tennis tournament at Wimbledon. Involuntarily I strained my ears to catch the roar of the Strand through the half-open doors; only there was no sound of traffic in the city of Hamburg.

As the third act rolled its course we felt that the Old Vic was surpassing itself; never had classic lines been rendered with more feeling and intensity. Olivier as Richard, Ralph Richardson as Richmond, Margaret Leighton as the Queen were at their best. Then came the gripping climax. A tense stillness pervaded the hall as Richmond proclaimed:

"God and our Cause fight upon our side."

Those in the martial audience who had fought for six years in the great crusade and had followed the bloody trail which led from Alamein to Berlin nodded approvingly at the aptness of this allusion. They evinced further appreciation as stout Richmond went on to describe his adversary:

"A bloody tyrant and a homicide,
One raised in blood and one in blood established,
One that made means to come by what he hath
And slaughtered those that were the means to help him.
One that has ever been God's enemy."

This was prescience indeed, rhetorical prophecy ringing down the ages from the days of Drake, the descriptive cadence of the Sixteenth Century attuned to the glorious fulfillment of the present hour. An emotional thrill ran through the theatre and encompassed the inspired actor. Warming to his theme he advanced to the footlights:

"Then if you fight against God's enemy

God will in justice ward you as his soldiers;
If you do sweat to put a tyrant down
You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain:
If you do fight against your Country'e foes,
Your Country's foes shall pay your pains the hire;
If you do fight in safe-guard of your wives,
Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;
If you do free your children from the sword,
Your children's children quit it in your age."

The performance went on to its end and the curtain fell to rise for many calls. The Brigadier clutching at the railing of his box, voiced a tribute to the players. Olivier made graceful response. Then we dutifully sang GOD SAVE THE KING: there was shuffle of hob-nailed boots and a metallic clang as rifles were pulled from between the seats.

Outside the Platz was still lighted in the ruddy glow of the dancing Borealis lights. The American Admiral and his gold be-tasseled aide were climbing into their jeep. Said the Admiral in reflective mood, "He knew his stuff, that Shakspere." "And how, Sire!" assented the aide.

Reading, Pa.

NID FIELD WAS WHOSE SCHOLAR?

By William Peery

IT is generally held that, like Brome, Nathan[1] Field, author of the sprightly antithetical comedies, *Woman Is a Weathercock* and *Amends for Ladies*,[2] is a follower of Ben Jonson. Ashley H. Thorndike, for example, states that Field "employed Jonson's methods and wrote plays in his manner."[3]

A study of Field's plays, however, reveals that such statements, which occur frequently, are a good deal less critical than they should be. They seem to be based not so much on Field's work itself as on a tradition to the effect that Field learned the art of playwriting at the feet of the master, Ben. This view is seriously presented by all who have written on the subject. Field's biographer, Miss Brinkley, writes:

> Ben Jonson stands foremost among the individual dramatists who influenced Field. Field belonged to that small group closely knit to Jonson by the affectionate relationship of "son." Anyone who had read Latin with Jonson, had seen him write his plays, and had helped to put them on the stage could not have failed to be partly molded by that dominating personality.[4]

Miss Mina Kerr, who has treated Jonson's influence in this period most fully, states that Field and Brome "gained the advantage of being personally instructed by him [Jonson] in the art of making plays, of learning their craft under his immediate supervision."[5] According to Miss Kerr, "During the hours of study and of rehearsal, he [Field] had abundant opportunity to learn the playwright's craft from Jonson himself."[6] His comedies, moreover, are said to "do credit to the instruction that Field had received" and to show an "intelligent grasp of the fundamental ideas of Jonsonian comedy."[7]

Miss Kerr does not state her authority for the notion that Jonson instructed Field in playwriting, but one suspects that she may have been influenced in it by statements of Felix E. Schelling. Schelling wrote: "Field was taught his craft as playwright by Jonson himself."[8] Again, "under

the tutelage of Jonson he became a playwright of merit."[9] And, later, "Field was literally Jonson's scholar in the drama."[10] This view was held also by Ronald Bayne, who termed Field and Brome "two men who came personally under Jonson's tuition and have a special right to be entitled his 'sons.'" Bayne places Field's plays in "the main stream of Jacobean dramatic work, in which the influence of Jonson, both personal and by his art, is all-pervasive."[12] In *Woman Is a Weathercock,* Bayne states, Jonson "is obviously the master most consciously copied."[13]

That scholars have written in such terms of Jonson's instructing Field in playwriting is not hard to understand when one remembers that Jonson is traditionally said to have been Field's special friend. Miss Kerr, for example, writes: "Evidently Jonson pitied the boy so early snatched away from his books, and gave him lessons."[14] "Even though only a child of thirteen years," Miss Brinkley writes, "he pored over his Latin during the time in which the other Chapel Children were probably playing. He was sufficiently earnest to attract the attention and aid of Ben Jonson."[15] Again,

> The relation between the young actors and their poets was a very friendly one. The gentler side of Jonson's nature is revealed when he takes time to help the boy Field with his lessons. . . . Jonson's friendship for Field was more than that of patron for protégé. In the Elizabethan period the difference of approximately a decade and a half in age made a very real barrier, but by his own merit Field was able to surmount this and become a contributor as well as receiver in the friendship between them.[16]

It is hardly necessary to state that in these remarks both Miss Kerr and Miss Brinkley are deducing too much from Jonson's well known comment to Drummond of Hawthornden, "Nid field was his Schollar & he had read to him the Satyres of Horace & some Epigrames of Martiall."[17] Yet the view that Jonson and Field were close personal friends rests upon little other evidence than this.

It is hard to know how much weight should be placed upon the evidence of Drummond. After "Schollar," "he" probably refers to Field, "him" to Jonson.[18] The reading or readings referred to, however, may have been anything

from one informal meeting to a series of regularly scheduled recitations. Neither Jonson nor Drummond gives us any clue as to where between these extremes the instruction is to be placed. Evidence that adequate provision was made for the academic education of the Blackfriars children seems slight.[19] Jonson's instruction of Field, moreover, is not dated. Miss Brinkley puts it in Field's early years at Blackfriars;[20] but to do so is arbitrary since it may have occurred at any other time between 1600, when Field was taken up for the Chapel, and 1619, when he died. Herford and Simpson think the passage may refer to a period "a little later"[21] than does Miss Brinkley. It may well be limited in reference to the short time in 1605 when Jonson and Field, because of *Eastward Ho!,* perhaps were in prison together.[22] Jonson's remarks to Drummond, moreover, often proceeding from spleen and a fondness for boasting, are always to be regarded with a degree of suspicion. The remark about Field certainly was not intended as a description of the young actor's formal education. In view of uncertainty as to the nature of the instruction to which it refers, as to when the instruction occurred and how long it lasted, and as to the tone in which the remark was offered, Drummond's evidence seems somewhat short of proof that Jonson was in any strict sense Field's teacher even of Latin.

The case for Jonson as a special friend of Field is no better supported. No contemporary evidence numbers Field among Jonson's "sons"; he is connected neither with the group at the Mermaid nor with the later Sons of Apollo. Biographical links between the two men are limited to their having been long associated with the same dramatic company, their reading together of Latin, their possible imprisonment together, Field's having acted prominent roles in a number of Jonson's plays, his having contributed commendatory verses to the 1607 quarto of *Volpone* and the 1611 quarto of *Catiline,* and Jonson's having paid tribute to Field's acting in *Bartholomew Fair* (V, 3:86-89). Field may, finally, have alluded to Jonson in his contribution to Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess.*

A playwright, however, may be very friendly with his leading actor or he may not. Field and Jonson's being imprisoned at the same time and for the same cause, if they were so imprisoned, does not necessarily argue even propinquity; certainly it does not prove deep friendship. An actor need not like, love, or revere the author of the plays he puts upon the stage. A contribution of commendatory verses in the seventeenth century is no proof of any great degree of intimacy or affection.[23] Field's poems to *Volpone* and *Catiline* add to our knowledge of Jonson-Field relations little beyond the information that Field regarded Jonson as a "most worthy Friend" whose art is above Field's praise. They are characterized by the hyperbole conventional in Elizabethan and Jacobean commendatory verse. To attempt to determine the profundity of Field's friendship for Jonson from them would be indeed dangerous.[24]

If there is little evidence that Field and Jonson were intimate personal friends, there is even less that Jonson taught Field how to write plays. Had he done so, Field might reasonably be expected to have acknowledged this debt in the poems contributed to Jonson's plays. He did not do so. The influence of Jonson on Field—and it admittedly existed—will have to be measured and studied in the plays of the two. The texts themselves do not suggest the sort of instruction that has been claimed, and there is virtually no external evidence.

Perhaps more significant to the present discussion than Field's contributions to *Volpone* and *Catiline* are the verses he contributed to *The Faithful Shepherdess*.[25] They are important because in them Field first gives expression to his ambition to become a writer. To a modesty not inappropriate in commendatory verse may be put down his statement that his name was unknown in 1609-10. His muse was certainly unknown and "not yet growne to strength,"[26] though nothing in this poem precludes his having completed by that time his first play, *Woman Is a Weathercock,* which seems hardly likely to have resulted from the ambition to perfect "So sweete and profitable"[27] a work as that which

the poem commends. The most interesting revelation of the poem, however, is Field's acknowledgement that he has been receiving grave philosophical instruction from an impressive mind.

> Opinion, that great foole, makes fooles of all,
> And (once) I feard her till I met a minde
> Whose grave instructions philosophicall,
> Toss'd it like dust upon a March strong winde;
> He shall forever my example be,
> And his embraced doctrine grow in me.[28]

I take it the reference is not to Fletcher. Herford and Simpson state that it is to Jonson,[29] and this identification may be the correct one. Jonson was, it is true, a fellow well-wisher with Field to *The Faithful Shepherdess*. So, however, was George Chapman. Grave, philosophical instruction could have been had from Chapman[30] as from Jonson. Only the phrase "embraced doctrine" seems to fit Jonson much more readily than Chapman, but Field does not specify "literary doctrine," and the context, indeed, suggests that Field intends to imitate the example of one who stands fearless of popular censure or approval.[31] This could be Chapman. It will be remembered that Chapman, not Jonson, contributed the only commendatory verse included in the quarto of *Woman Is a Weathercock*,[32] when Field needed a send-off as a writer. At the time of writing his comedies, Field probably had acted in ten of Chapman's plays.[33] Field had probably known Chapman as long as he had known Jonson, that is, virtually from the beginning of his career with the Chapel children. If he was imprisoned over *Eastward Ho!*, it may have been with Chapman as well as with Jonson. Field may have suffered imprisonment also from the production of one of Chapman's *Byron* plays.[34] In view of these facts, one should not identify the "minde" of Field's poem without considering the case for Chapman as well as that for Jonson. More thorough study of Field's comedies may well show their author to have been Chapman's as much as Jonson's "scholar" in the art of playwriting.

A review of the external evidence of Jonson's influence on Field permits the following conclusions. Jonson and Field doubtless read Latin together as Drummond wit-

nesses, but we do not know the extent to which Jonson contributed to Field's knowledge of Latin.[35] The testimony of Drummond has been expanded and romantically embellished in the tradition that Jonson and Field were especially close personal friends, a tradition which is inadequately supported by evidence. The pleasant story took on unfortunate proportions when scholars, influenced by the tradition of the Jonson-Field friendship, expanded Field's curriculum under Jonson to include the art of playwriting. It appears to have colored highly all existing descriptions of Jonson's influence on Field. Field's debt to Jonson—indeed, his debt to a number of his playwriting contemporaries, particularly Shakspere, Chapman, and him whom Jonson called "but a base fellow,"[36] Middleton—stands in need of careful appraisal based primarily upon the internal evidence.

Mount Holyoke College

---

[1]Though scholars should be able, after the contribution of R. Florence Brinkley [*Nathan Field, the Actor-Playwright* (New Haven, 1928)] to avoid further confusion of Nathan with Nathaniel Field, the old error continues to be made. *Cf.* D. J. McGinn, *Shakespeare's Influence on the Drama of His Age Studied in Hamlet* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1938), pp. 108, 160, 167, 236; Henry W. Wells, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights* (New York, 1939), p. 288—confusion of the date of Nathan's death only; *Work in Progress in the Modern Humanities,* 1941, pp. 35, 160; 1942, pp. 66, 2816 and F. W. Bateson, ed., *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (New York, 1941), IV, 90. Even E. K. Chambers, who helped lay this ghost, once has slipped and called Nathan Nathaniel—*The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 923), II, 460.

[2]Edited by A. Wilson Verity in *Nero and Other Plays* (London and New York, 888). My references are to this edition.

[3]*English Comedy* (New York, 1929), p. 190.

[4]*Op. cit.,* p. 72.

[5]*Influence of Ben Jonson on English Comedy* (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 52.

[6]*Ibid.,* p. 53.

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 54.

[8]*Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1908), I, 519.

[9]*Ibid.,* p. 473.

[10]*English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (New York, 1910, p. 231.

[11]*CHEL,* VI, 237.

[12]*Ibid.,* p. 247.

[13]*Ibid.,* p. 250.

[14]*Op. cit.,* p. 53.

[15]*Op. cit.,* pp. 15f.

[16]*Ibid.,* p. 22.

[17]*Conversations;* C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, edd., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925—), I, 137.

[18]*Ibid.,* p. 160, n. 164.

[19]It rests chiefly on the undeveloped statement of Frederick Gerschow, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* n. s., VI (1892), 27, and on our knowledge that production schedules would have allowed some time for schooling. See Harold N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors* (Urbana, Ill., 1926), p. 186.

[20]*Op. cit.,* p. 22.

[21]*Op. cit.,* I, 26.

[22]Chambers, *op. cit.,* III, 254; Brinkley, *op. cit.,* p. 26. If Chambers is correct in the view that the publication rather than the performance of *Eastward Ho!* caused the trouble [*op. cit.,* II, 51 and n. 2; III, 255] perhaps Field was not imprisoned. Hillebrand says that the affair "seems not to have affected seriously the company itself"—*op. cit.,* p. 194.

[23]Miss Kerr, *op. cit.,* p. 53, and Miss Brinkley, *op. cit.,* p. 22, fail to allow for the extravagance and conventionality of eulogy in the period.

[24]Bibliographical evidence connected with Field's poem in *Volpone,* however, may reveal something of Jonson's attitude toward Field. Simpson cogently argues that Jonson requested Field to contribute to the volume and stopped its press run to make room for the poem in the final copies—see "Field and Ben Jonson," *N & Q,* 8th Series, VIII (1895), 301. Simpson, too, however, seems to be warming to the story when he speaks of Jonson's having "sought the tribute of the young actor who loved him." Later he amended "loved" to "revered"—*Ben Jonson,* V, 6.

[25]A. Glover and A. R. Waller, edd., *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (Cambridge, 1905-1912), II, 591.

[26]*Ibid.*

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]*Op. cit.,* V, 6. They are manifestly wrong in saying that the allusion has passed unnoticed. *Cf.* Miss Brinkley, "it is Jonson, I think, to whom Field refers as the one that shall be his master"—*op. cit.,* p. 72.

[30]For the general esteem in which Chapman was held by younger and older contemporaries, see A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature* (2d ed. London, 1899), II, 413f. Ward speaks of Chapman's dignity of character and quotes Wood as to his reverend, religious, and temperate qualities.

[31]If literary doctrine be meant, Chapman, too, of course held critical views.

[32]P. 339.

[33]He having been a leading actor in the company which produced *The Gentleman Usher, May Day, Sir Giles Goosecap, All Fools, Bussy D'Ambois, Monsieur D'Olive, The Widow's Tears, I and II Charles Duke of Byron,* and *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois.*

[34]Brinkley, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

[35]Though in his plays Field quotes aptly from Juvenal's First Satire and from Ovid's Amores [pp. 339, 478] he seems to have had the amused and amusing contempt of some actors for some scholars. He appears to be proud that he is able to end his epistle "To Any Woman That Hath Been No Weathercock" "without a Latin sentence"—p. 338. Bowing to the taste of readers for Latin prefaces, Field quotes Juvenal and adds: "Thou must needs have some other language than thy mother-tongue, for thou think'st it impossible for one to write a play, that did not use a word of Latin, though he had enough in him"—p. 339. The final clause may not be mere boasting from the former pupil of Mulcaster's St. Paul's—see Brinkley, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

[36]*Ben Jonson,* I, 137.

HENRY IV, PARTS I AND *II,* AND SPEGHT'S FIRST EDITION OF *GEFFREY CHAUCER*

By Thomas H. McNeal

HENRY IV, Parts 1 and *2,* have as their setting the period in English history that marks the closing days of Geoffrey Chaucer's life and the years immediately following his death. The time similarity, plus certain echoes from Chaucer's works in *Part 1,* and the names *Gower* and *Skogan,* men close to the poet who appear in *Part 2,* have led to reasonable but nevertheless vague explanations by various editors of the plays. Here I shall attempt to make clearer Shakspere's sources for and use of the Chaucer material that is evident; and this in the light of a passage from *2 Henry IV,* which may be an as yet unnoted borrowing by Shakspere from Thomas Speght's "Life" that appears in *The Workes of our Antient and Learned Poet, Geffrey Chaucer,* dated 1598.

Stow gives a list of the editions of Chaucer's collected works available to Shakspere in his *The Survey of London*:

> "His works were partly published in print by William Caxton, in the reign of Henry VI, increased by William Thinne, esquire, in the reign of Henry VIII; corrected and twice increased, through mine own painful labours, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to wit, in the year 1561; and again beautified with notes by me, collected out of divers records and monuments, which I delivered to my loving friend Th. Speght, and he having drawn the same into good form and method, as also explained the old and obscure words, &c., hath published them in anno 1597."[1]

F. J. Furnivall verifies this account, and lists the editions of individual pieces: they end in 1526.[2] From such information it appears that Shakspere, before the publication of Speght's *Workes,* read Chaucer in very old books indeed—that he must have gone back at least to the edition of 1561.

As for Chaucer's life, be probably had very little knowledge of it at all until the biography in Speght's book made it accessible to him—save of course for bits of information that may have been gleaned from the poet's works, from

gossip and hearsay drifting about literary London, or from the "records and monuments" observed by Stow, as stated above, which would include such a thing as Chaucer's tomb in Westminster Abbey, with its date 1400. For no editions of Chaucer contained a biography before Speght's Englished version. In fact, there were in print only two very short and inadequate lives, both in Latin, and both by John Bale: one in his *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum—Summarium,* 1548; the other in his *Scriptotorum Illustrium Maioris Britanniae—Catalogus,* 1557-1559.[3] We may assume that a new edition after so many years, containing a life and notes in plain English,—full of such familiar names, too, as King Henry IV, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the Duke of Clarence, John Hastings Earl of Pembrooke — must have interested Shakspere, busy at the moment recreating for the stage the very times presented.

Chaucerian allusion is evident in *1 Henry IV*. But the echoes present certainly go back earlier than Speght, for his *Chaucer,* "often referred to as 1598, was published, as Todd says, in January, February, or March of 1597-1598."[4] The composition of *1 Henry IV* falls, it is generally agreed, within the years 1596-1597.[5] It is well to say, too, that there are no borrowings from Chaucer, as far as I can see, in any of the admitted sources of the play: Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland; The Famous Victories of Henry V;* and the Fourth Book of Daniel's *History of* the *Civil Wars.* Shakspere must have gone elsewhere.

Bits from *1 Henry IV* that might be thought of as deriving from Chaucer follow:

1. Henry speaks of the Holy Land:

> Over whose acres walk'd those blessëd feet
> Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd
> For our advantage on the bitter cross.
> (I, i, 25-27)[6]

The year 1400 may merely set the period of the play; but it was well known in Elizabethan times as that of Chaucer's death.

2. Some of the victims in prospect for the robbery, that serves as a plot for much of the comedy, are described as "pilgrims going to Canterbury." (I, ii, 140)

3. The Chamberlain names a definite victim: "... there's a franklin in the wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold." (II, i, 59-61)

Dericke, in the *Famous Victories,* says: "I am sure we gentlemen in Kent scan't go so well."[7] His remark and the Chamberlain's appear at a similar point in the progress of the common comic plot. Shakspere prefers *franklin* to *gentlemen.*

4. Falstaff: "How now, Dame Partlet the hen!" (III, iii, 60)

The above quotations show how vague and general the Chaucerian reference is, yet that it is nevertheless present.

It is my contention that after the completion of *1 Henry IV* and during the composition of *2 Henry IV,* Shakspere read and was influenced by Speght's *Chaucer.* The time element helps this theory out: for the composition date of *2 Henry IV* is well agreed upon,—Tucker Brooke places it at 1598; Fleay, Alden, and Adams at 1597-1598.[8] These years fit exactly with the January, February, or March, 1597-1598 publication date of the *Chaucer.* The appearance of the names, Gower and Skogan, not in *1 Henry IV* but present in *2 Henry IV,* further calls for an investigation; and a passage from *2 Henry IV* that seems to lean toward Speght's life of Chaucer—the well remembered conversation between Justice Shallow and Silence—helps, I believe, to make it worth while:

> *Shal.* By yea and nay, sir, I dare say my cousin William is become a good scholar: he is at Oxford still, is he not?
>
> *Sil.* Indeed, sir, to my cost.
>
> *Shal.* A' must, then, to the inns o' court shortly. I was once of Clement's Inn, where I think they will talk of mad Shallow yet.
>
> *Sil.* You were called "lusty Shallow" then, cousin.
>
> *Shal.* By the mass, I was called any thing; and I would have

done any thing indeed too, and roundly, too. There was I, and little John Doit of Staffordshire, and black George Barnes, and Francis Pickbone, and Will Squele, a Cotswold man; you had not four such swinge-bucklers in all the inns o' court again; and I may say to you, we knew where the bona-robas were and had the best of them all at commandment. Then was Jack Falstaff, now Sir John, a boy, a page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

Sil. This Sir John, cousin, that comes hither anon about soldiers?

Shal. The same Sir John, the very same. I see him break Skogan's head at the court-gate, when a' was a crack not thus high: and the very same day did I fight with one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's Inn. Jesu, Jesu, the mad days that I have spent! and to see how many of my old acquaintance are dead!

Sil. We shall all follow, cousin.

Shal. Certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure: death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die. How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford fair?

Sil. By my troth, I was not there.

Shal. Death is certain. Is old Double of your town living yet?

Sil. Dead, sir.

Shal. Jesu, Jesu, dead! a' drew a good bow; and dead! a' shot a fine shoot: John a Gaunt loved him well.[9]

The portion of Speght's Life that bears a certain similarity in background and incident to this conversation between Shallow and Silence deals with Chaucer's education and marriage:

His bringing up, as *Leland* saith, was in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, as also of Cambridge, as appeareth by his owne wordes in his booke entituled *The Court of Loue*: and in Oxford by all likelihood in Canterburie or in Merton College, with *John Wickelife,* whose opinions in religion he much affected: where besides his priuate studie, hee did with great diligence frequent the publique schooles and disputations. . . . Hereupon, saith Leland, he became a wittie Logician, a sweete Rhetorician, a pleasant Poet, a graue Philosopher, and a holy Divine. Moreover he was a skilfull mathematician, instructed therein by Iohn Some & Nicholas Lynne friers Carmelites of Linne, and men verie skilfull in the Mathematikes, whome he in his booke called *The Astrolabe,* doth greatly commend, and calleth them Reuerend clerkes.

By his trauaile also in Fraunce and Flaunders, where hee spent much time in his young yeeres, but more in the latter end of the reigne of K. Richard the second, he attained to great perfection in all kind of learning. . . . About the latter end of King Richard the seconds daies he flourished in Fraunce, and got himselfe great commendation there by his diligent exercise in learning. After his return home, he frequented the Court at London, and

> the Colledges of the Lawyers, which there interprete the lawes of the lande, and among them he had a familiar frend called Iohn Gower. This Gower in his booke which is entituled *Confessio Amantis,* termeth Chaucer a worthie Poet, and maketh him as it were, the Iudge of his workes.
>
> It seemeth that both these learned men were of the inner Temple: for not many yeeres since, Master Buckley did see a Record in the same house, where *Geoffrey Chaucer* was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete. . . .
>
> He matched in marriage with a Knights daughter . . . But howsoever it was, by this marriage he became brother in law to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, as hereafter appeareth.[10]

A comparison of the passages is interesting on several counts:

1. Both Shallow and Chaucer are Oxford men, and both were at the inns of court, colleges in London for the study of law. The most important are Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and the Inner and Middle Temple. Clement's Inn, Shallow's college, was attached to the Inner Temple,[11] where studied Chaucer and Gower.

2. One incident in Shallow's and Chaucer's university days is surprisingly similar: Shallow fought "with one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's Inn"; Chaucer "was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete."

3. Falstaff broke "Skogan's head at the court-gate." Two poems relative to Skogan are to be found in the works of the Speght edition of 1597-1598: "Scogan unto the Lords," eighth from the end of the book, and "Lenuoy," fifth from the end.[12] The appearance of the name *Skogan* in the comic plot of *2 Henry IV* has not, as I see it, been given clear explanation. According to S. B. Hemingway, "Shakespeare probably took the name from a jest book published in 1565, called *Scogan's Jests.* It is possible, however, that the reference is to Chaucer's friend, described by Ben Jonson in *The Fortunate Isles* as a fine gentleman, and master of arts, of Henry the Fourth's time."[13] L. Winstanley says: "Shakespeare probably means Henry Scogan, who was a court poet of Henry IV and a friend of Chau-

cer's; the latter addressed a poem to him entitled 'Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan.' There is also another Scogan, Court Jester to Edward IV, author of a popular book of jests. Shakspere seems to have confused the two, for the incident recorded is more worthy of the jester than the poet."[14] (The last sentence is pure irony if Chaucer's fight with the frier is believed.)

I believe that Shakspere took the name *Skogan* from the poems relating to the man at the back of Speght's *Chaucer*—that we may now drop the court jester to Edward IV for good and all.

4. Gower is a shadowy character in *2 Henry IV*. He makes an entrance only once, in Act II, Scene 1. His four brief speeches reveal nothing of his character, and tell us only that he is a man close to the court. L. Winstanley thinks that he "is probably intended for the poet, the author of the *Confessio Amantis* and the friend of Chaucer."[15] Speght's Life bears her out, for John Gower is placed there as a resident with Chaucer at the Inner Temple —to which, I may repeat, Justice Shallow's Clement's Inn is attached. Among the minor poems, too, at the end of the work, is "John Gower unto the Worthy and Noble King Henry the Fourth," twelfth from the last, and four titles from "Scogan unto the Lords." It seems reasonable that Shakspere found these names here, and used them for color and authenticity in his play.

5. That John of Gaunt is in both passages proves nothing; but it is a strange coincidence that his name appears in each case only a dozen or so lines from the incident of the fight in London.

This study suggests that Shakspere realized early Chaucer's connection with the people of the period in which he labored, for though echoes from the poet in Part I are slight, they are evident. Speght's edition of 1597-1598 came too late to influence Part I, composed in 1596-1597; but just in time for Part II, written in 1597-1598. For in *2 Henry IV* are what look like borrowings from Speght's life of Chaucer; and along with these are two

names, *Gower* and *Skogan,* the first appearing in the Life and in the title of a poem twelfth from the end of the collected pieces, the second represented in two poems, eighth and fifth from the end. In the use of this possible source material, Shakspere does not pretend to give historical accuracy—rather he has fictionized actual incident, as he has often fictionized and built up history borrowed from Holinshed in the same play. The incident of student days is employed rather to achieve verisimilitude in the character of Shallow. The men Gower and Skogan are mere shadows, the first very slightly drawn, the last completely undeveloped. Shakspere may likewise have chosen them to create historical reality, out of a work recently read and of exceptional interest to him—not only because it contains the writings of the greatest English poet next to himself, but because Speght's introduction relates of characters and events out of a period that he himself is bringing to life in a play. The perfect tallying of the time elements of the two plays with Speght'c *Chaucer* makes possible these conclusions.

East Texas State Teachers College
Commerce, Texas

[1]E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual, Peter Smith,* N. Y., 1933, p. 124.

[2]*Francis Thynne's Animadversions,* The Chaucer Society, London, 1875, p. 70, n. 2.

[3]Hammond, pp. 8-13.

[4]*Ibid.,* p. 124.

[5]F. W. Moorman and M. P. Tilley, eds., *The First Part of Henry the Fourth,* (Arden Edition), D. C. Heath and Co., 1917, Introduction, p. viii.

[6]*Ibid.* References that follow are made to this edition.

[7]J. Q. Adams, ed., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas,* Houghton Mifflin Co., N.Y., 1924, p. 669, 11.181-2.

[8]Tucker Broke, *Shakespeare of Stratford,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1926, p. 120.

[9]L. Winstanley, ed., *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth,* (Arden Edition), D. C. Heath and Co., N.Y., 1918, III, ii, 10-50.

[10]Hammond, pp. 21, 22.

[11]T. Brooke, J. W. Cunliffe, H. N. MacCracken, *Shakespeare's Principal Plays,* D. Appleton-Century Co., N.Y., 1935, p. 327, n. 14.

[12]J. C. Wells records that Chaucer "was buried in Westminster Abbey. In his survey, Stow says his tomb is in the cloister near the body of his friend, Henry Scogan." *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400,* Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1926, p. 617.

[13]*The Second Part of Henry IV,* Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1921, p. 133.

[14]*Op. cit.,* p. 147, n. 33.

[15]*Op. cit.,* p. 137, . 145.

NOTICES

Now that the gangsters and the cutthroats who rule the world are enjoying an enforced holiday, giving the racketeers the long-awaited opportunity, the most helpless and least vocal part of mankind—the scholarly humanists—are returning to what are called "civilized" pursuits. One of the noteworthy signs of this return is the publication, under the direction of Professor Orsini of the University of Florence, of a neatly printed and attractive looking periodical called "Anglica" which is to be devoted to English and American studies. The journal, each number consisting of 48 pages, will be published bimonthly at 70 lira per issue (400 lira by the year), and will include essays, reviews, poems, etc., in Italian as well as in foreign languages. Associated with Professor Orsini in the publication are Professor Sergio Baldi and Mr. R. Anzilotti.

The first number, bearing the date "February 1946," is of special interest to Shakspere students the world over because of Professor Orsini's introductory essay, "La critica shakespeariana," covering pages 6 to 17, a survey of conspicuous (not necessarily important) contributions to Shakspere literature of the 20th century. James R. Lowell is the subject of a short essay with liberal quotations (12 stanzas) from "The Courtin" (pages 27-32) and copious explanatory footnotes. Cyril Connolly's *Horizon* is reviewed (pp 38-41) by Professor Orsini. A thoroughly modernistic—and, to us, inartistic—poem, "Stanzas of the great unrest" by Peter Viereck, take up pages 18 to 20.

We hope for fine things from the new publication and wish it every success. May it help to bring the English and Italian-speaking peoples into closer spiritual harmony and to a better understanding of one another.

An English book which is sure to find a place on the shelves of every library specializing in Elizabethan literature is *An Introduction to Stuart Drama* by Professor Frederick S. Boas. The book, consisting of 452 pages, is published by the Oxford University Press for $4. In it Professor Boas, an old and accomplished devotee of the Elizabethan drama, aims to bring together the fruits of the labors of English and American scholars during the recent past. Teachers and readers will undoubtedly find it a useful guide and, we hope, an incentive to reading the works of the authors discussed in the volume.

S. A. T.